

Message Text

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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PRETORIA 3281

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PDEV, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: HIGHLIGHTS OF SALISBURY MEETINGS

REF: PRETORIA 3261

1. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF SOME OF THE GRAHAM-LOW MEETINGS WITH VARIOUS GROUPS IN SALISBURY.
2. JUNE 6-REVEREND SITHOLE, DEFENSE MINISTER KAZZITI, AND DR. GOPO: NO NEW GROUND WAS UNCOVERED DURING OUR HOUR-LONG FRIENDLY SESSION WITH SITHOLE. HE DECLARED THAT HE HAD
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NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, BUT HE SAW NO PURPOSE IN IT AT THIS STAGE. HE RETREATED BEHIND THE COMPLAINT THAT ONCE AN ELECTION HAD BEEN HELD BASED ON ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE AND A BLACK GOVERNMENT SELECTED THERE WAS NO BASIS TO CONTINUE SANCTIONS OR WITHHOLD RECOGNITION. HE SAID THE IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS THAT IT HAD BROUGHT TWO THINGS: ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE AND IN-

DEPENDENCE BY DECEMBER 31. IF SMITH TRIED TO RETREAT FROM EITHER OF THESE TWO, THERE WOULD BE SERIOUS DISTURBANCES; BUT AS LONG AS HE KEPT TO THEM, THE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES HAD BEEN ATTAINED. THE SERIOUS THREAT OF VIOLENCE CAME NOT FROM PATRIOTIC FRONT'S OPPOSITION TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, BUT FROM A ZAPU/ZANU CIVIL WAR UNDER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL.

3. WE SAID WE WERE NOT TRYING TO IMPOSE OUR VIEWS ON ANYONE; WE WERE HERE TO HELP THE PARTIES COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER. WHEN AND IF THE PARTIES SHARED OUR FEELINGS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS, WE STOOD READY TO HELP BRING THEM TOGETHER ON MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE GROUNDS. IT WAS AGREED THAT WE WOULD MEET AGAIN DURING OUR PRESENT STAY IN SALISBURY.

4. JUNE 6-NUF LEADERS ALLEN SAVORY AND NICK MCNALLY: LEADER OF THE LIBERAL OPPOSITION TO SMITH, SAVORY IS VERY PESSIMISTIC. HE SEES SMITH'S AIM AS PUTTING TOKEN AFRICAN LEADERS INTO MINISTERIAL POSITIONS IN AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT WITH THE ENTIRE PRESENT INFRASTRUCTURE REMAINING UNCHANGED. OPPOSITION TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, SAVORY CLAIMS, IS BUILDING. EVERYONE HAS A DIFFERENT OPINION, H3 SAYS, BUT HE BASES HIS JUDGEMENTS ON THE ONE INDICATOR HE KNOWS IS DEPENDABLE--DEFECTIONS FROM ONE PARTY TO ANOTHER WHICH DURING THE LAST FEW WEEKS

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HAVE BEEN UNMISTAKABLY IN THE DIRECTION OF MUGABE. MIDDLE-LEVEL POLITICAL FIGURES OF MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE'S GROUPS HAVE ONE AFTER ANOTHER BEEN SWITCHING TO MUGABE. SIMILARLY, IN THE URBAN TOWNSHIP AREAS, THERE HAS BEEN A MARKED FALLING AWAY OF MUZOREWA'S POPULARITY. THE HOVE AFFAIR DAMAGED HIS POSITION SERIOUSLY. SAVORY IS CONVINCED THAT, IF ELECTIONS ARE HELD UNDER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT TURNED OVER TO THE VICTOR, A WAR WILL ENSUE WHICH CAN ONLY END IN A PATRIOTIC FRONT VICTORY. THE EXISTING RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES WILL BE PROGRESSIVELY WEAKENED BY LOWERING MORAL AND WITHDRAWAL OF WHITE ELEMENTS WHO WILL REFUSE TO FIGHT FOR THE BLACK GOVERNMENT. MCNALLY SEES THE ONLY HOPE IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WHICH WILL ACHIEVE AGREEMENT.

5. JUNE 7-GAYLORD, CLAYPOLE, GEORGE SMITH: GRAHAM OUTLINED AT LENGTH THE PURPOSE OF OUR VISIT, OUR INTENDED METHOD OF OPERATION AND THE REASONS WE FELT IT IMPORTANT TO MOVE TOWARDS A DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN THE PARTIES AND AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. HE ALSO DESCRIBED IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL THE PROGRESS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THROUGH THE DAR MEETING. I EXPLAINED TO THEM THE CURRENT PATRIOTIC FRONT

FRAME OF MIND, THEIR OPTIMISM, MILITANCY AND THE UNLIKELIHOOD

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FROM LOW

OF ANY WILLINGNESS TO JOIN THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT AT
THIS STAGE. GAYLORD DESCRIBED THEIR COMPLETE COMMITMENT
TO THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT AND WHAT HE CLAIMED WAS GROWING
MOMENTUM OF SUPPORT FOR IT. HE SAID ELECTIONS WOULD
NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHIN THE TIME LIMIT WITHOUT
RESORTING TO THE PARTY-LIST SYSTEM. THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS
ARE CONVICTED THAT THE THING TO DO IS GO AHEAD WITH THE
ELECTIONS AND DEFEND AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE REGIME BASED
ON MAJORITY RULE. THE BRITISH WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE
BUT TO RECOGNIZE IT. NEGOTIATION THROUGH AN ALL-PARTIES
MEETING ON THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS
WOULD BE SURRENDERING TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHICH
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WOULD RESULT IN DEMORALIZATION OF THE WHITE POPULATION AND THEIR EXODUS FROM RHODESIA. THIS WOULD LEAD TO EVENTUAL CHAOS. CLAYPOLE CLAIMED THAT UNDER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN, THE TRANSITION PERIOD WOULD BE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHICH WOULD MASTERMIND THE ELECTION. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, EUROPEANS WOULD LEAVE AND TRIBAL WARFARE WOULD BE INEVITABLE. WE REASSURED THEM WE HAD NO INTENTION OF ACCEPTING A SETTLEMENT WHICH GAVE CONTROL OVER THE TRANSITION PERIOD TO ANY GROUP, THAT WE WOULD INSIST ON A FAIR IMPARTIAL ELECTION AND WE SUGGESTED THAT THEY NOW TAKE THE PUBLIC PF STATEMENTS AT FACE VALUE. THEY CRITICIZED THE IDEA OF THE UN FORCE WHICH COULD NOT EFFECTIVELY MAINTAIN ORDER BUT INSISTED THAT ONLY THE PRESENT RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCE COULD PROTECT AGAINST THE COLLAPSE OF WHITE CONFIDENCE.

6. DURING THE LENGTHY DISCUSSION WHICH FOLLOWED OF THE CHANGES BEING BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT THROUGH THE NEW PARTY-LIST ELECTORAL PROCESS, THE SENATE, THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT, THE DISCUSSION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, ETC., IT WAS EVIDENT THAT ON VIRTUALLY EVERY ISSUE, THE CONCERN OF THE REGIME FOR MAINTENANCE OF WHITE CONFIDENCE HAD OVERRIDEN AFRICAN DEMANDS. THE CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFTING COMMITTEE, FOR INSTANCE, HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE AAP BILL OF RIGHTS WHICH CONTAINS PROVISIONS FOR SALE OF LAND AT HISTORIC VALUE. INSTEAD IT WOULD PROVIDE FOR PROMPT AND ADEQUATE COMPENSATION FOR ANY EXPROPRIATION. AS GAYLORD SAID ON ISSUE AFTER ISSUE, THE AFRICANS HAD "CHANGED THEIR VIEWS ON QUITE A LOT OF THINGS IN THE LIGHT OF DISCUSSIONS WE HAD WITH THEM HERE."

7. THE DISCUSSION RETURNED TO AN APM, AND WE MADE CLEAR THAT WE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE REGIME WAS GOING TO GET CONFIDENTIAL

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A SUFFICIENT REDUCTION OF FIGHTING TO MAKE POSSIBLE A SETTLEMENT OF THE KIND THEY ENVISAGE. GAYLORD SAID IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT WE WOULD GET AN ANSWER ON OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN APM ON THIS VISIT.

8. JULY 7-CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF ZANU"MUGABE LED BY REV. TIRIVAVI AND INCLUDING MIKE JONES, ALBERT TADERRA, GWANZURU: JONES WELCOMED MY PARTICIPATION AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A NATION WHICH WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR COUP D'ETATS OVERTHROWING LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENTS IN CAMBODIA, GREECE, AND CHILE AND SIGNING A NEW PANAMA TREATY EXTENDING OUR COLONIAL CONTROL OF THE CANAL FOR ANOTHER GENERATION. OUR CONVERSATION HAD LITTLE SUBSTANCE

SINCE THE GROUP CAME TO REQUEST THAT WE INTERCEDE WITH THE REGIME TO OBTAIN RELEASE OF SIX MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE STILL UNDER DETENTION IN ORDER THAT THIS SIX MAY JOIN THEM IN PRESENTING THEIR CASE TO US. THE SIX WERE ENUS NKALA, REV. CANAAN BANANA, NOLAN MAKOMBE, ROBERT MARERE, NELSON MAWEMA AND BASSOPO MOYO. IN GENERAL, THEY CRITICIZED THE BRITISH INTENTIONS TO PRESCRIBE A CONSTITUTION OF ANY KIND FOR AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. THE ATTACKED THE BRITISH FOR PERMITTING SITHOLE TO ENTER THE COUNTRY WHEN HE WAS PART OF AN ILLEGAL REGIME WHOSE MEMBERS ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO ENTER THE UK. THOUGH THE MEETING WAS NOT AN EASY ONE, WE LEFT ON THE BASIS THAT WE WOULD MEET AGAIN AFTER WE HAD PASSED ON THEIR REQUEST FOR RELEASE OF THEIR COLLEAGUES.

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FROM LOW

9. JUNE 7 - ZAPU MEMBERS CHINAMANO, MUZARURWA, RAFTOPOLOUS, MEHTA, MSIPA, MUCHACHI AND KONA: MUCH OF THE CONVERSATIONS RELATED TO CRITICISM BY ZAPU OF THE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTA-

TION PARTY-LIST SYSTEM BEING ADOPTED BY THE REGIME FOR THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS. IT WAS A SCHEME, THEY SAID, TO AVOID EMBARRASSMENT OVER LACK OF PARTICIPATION FROM SOME AREAS OF THE COUNTRY. IT WOULD ENCOURAGE A MULTIPLICITY OF PARTIES BASED ON TRIBAL AFFILIATION. THE REGIME, THEY SAID, WOULD ENCOURAGE VOTING IN AREAS WHERE ITS CANDIDATES WERE STRONG AND DISCOURAGE IT IN OTHERS, AND THERE WOULD BE NO WAY OF DETERMINING THIS FROM THE RESULTS. CHINAMANO SAID THAT THE STRONGEST PARTY COULD NOT GET MORE

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THAN 50 PERCENT WHICH WOULD BE 36 SEATS, VERY LITTLE MORE THAN THE 28 GUARANTEED TO THE WHITES. THIS SYTEM WOULD LEAD TO A WEAK GOVERNMENT AT A TIME WHEN A STRONG AND FORCEFUL LEADERSHIP WAS NEEDED. THE ZAPU OFFICIALS RECOGNIZED THAT THE REGISTRATION NECESSARY FOR A SINGLE-MEMBER DISTRICT WOULD TAKE MORE TIME AND MIGHT CARRY THEM BEYOND THE DECEMBER 31 DEADLINE, BUT THEY SAID THIS DID NOT BOTHER THEM. THEY WERE PERFECTLY WILLING TO POSTPONE INDEPENDENCE FOR A FAIR AND LEGITIMATE ELECTION.

10. THEY CONTENDED THAT ZAPU WAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND THAT AN ALL-PARTY MEETING WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY POPULAR. THEY SAID THEIR OWN MEETINGS ARE WELL ATTENDED AND EXCLUSIVELY BY LOCAL PEOPLE AS CONTRASTED WITH OTHER PARTIES WHO HAVE THE MEANS AND MONEY TO BUS IN SUPPORTERS FROM ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY. THEY THEMSELVES WILL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ELECTION AND URGE THEIR SUPPORTERS AGAINST PARTICIPATION IN IT.

11. CHINAMANO CLAIMED THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE 250 OR SO DETAINEES LEFT IN PRISON ARE ZAPU MEMBERS (A FACT DENIED BY THE ZANU BUT SUPPORTED BY SECRETARY OF LAW AND ORDER CLAYPOLE). THERE IS NO FORMAL COORDINATION BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU INSIDE RHODESIA.

12. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, MSIPA, SECRETARY OF EDUCATION, SAID THAT THE ZAPU MEMBERS DID OCCASIONALLY MEET WITH PARTICIPANTS IN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE SAID ONLY LAST WEEKEND THEY HAD BEEN TOGETHER AT VICTORIA FALLS AND THAT MOST OF THE MINISTERS WITH WHOM HE HAD SPOKEN SUPPORTED AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. HE SAID BULLE HAD TOLD HIM THAT HE WOULD URGE MUZOREWA TO ACCEPT AN APM.

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